CHAPTER 5. OVERVIEW OF MORTUARY POPULATION, BURIAL PRACTICES, AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

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This chapter presents an overview of the archaeological evidence for population, burial practices, and spatial arrangements at the African Burial Ground. After providing a demographic profile of the population whose graves were disinterred, we turn to the overall evidence for burial practices, viewing the evidence from the site as the physical signature of the repeated performance of funerary ritual. Seven material aspects of mortuary practice are examined: coffins, grave orientation, body position, individual/co-interment, burial attire (shrouds, winding sheets, street clothes), adornment and other goods in direct association with the deceased, and grave marking. In subsequent chapters, we will look sequentially at the four temporal groups of burials, noting possible evidence for change over time. As will be seen, however, continuity overshadows change with regard to burial patterns.

5.A.   The mortuary population

This section contains basic information on the age and sex profile of the mortuary population. Demographic data based on analysis of the skeletal remains are presented in Chapter 7 of the Skeletal Biology Report (Rankin-Hill et al. 2004). Here we provide basic information on the age and sex distribution within the excavated sample as a whole – the same information is presented for burials in each temporal group in Chapters 6 through 9.

Throughout this report, when referring to a specific individual, age is given in terms of an *age range*, from the lowest estimate to the highest estimate. However, there are several other ways to refer to age. There are three *age categories*: "infant" (six months old or younger), "subadult" (under approximately 15 years of age), and "adult" (15 years or older). This tripartite division is used, for example, when distinguishing between those who could be sexed using standard metric parameters (adults) and those who could not (subadults). A *composite "age"* was also derived for each individual, a single number reflecting the statistical age based on numerous parameters measured. For purposes of analysis, this age was used to assign individuals to *age groups*, so that the demographic distribution data can be presented more clearly and so that counts would be sufficient to discern any patterning of traits (such as pathologies). Age groups for subadults are in half-year increments for the first year of life and thereafter in one-year increments, while those for adults are in 5-year increments. Age groups are used in the age and sex distribution graphs here (Figures 5.1 and 5.2) and in Chapters 6 through 9.
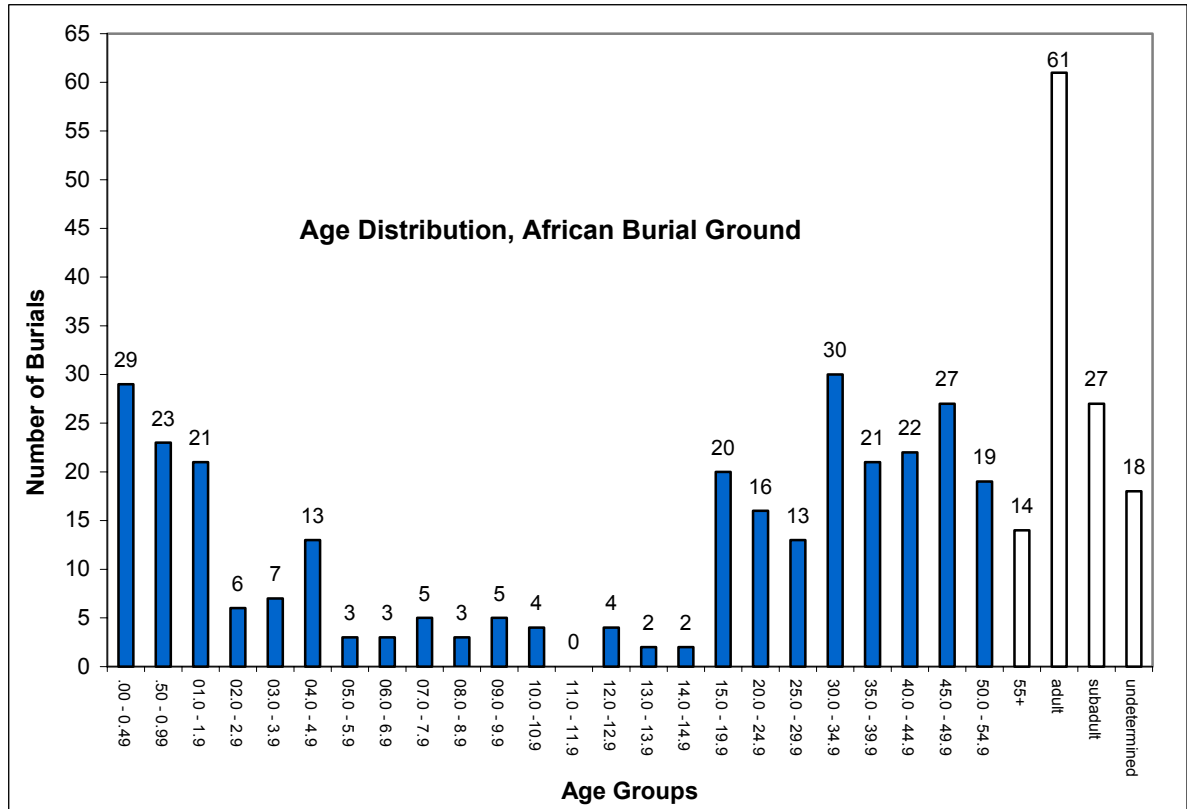
Age Distribution, African Burial Ground

Figure 5.1.
Age distribution. The white bars at the right are for individuals for whom a more precise age could not be determined.
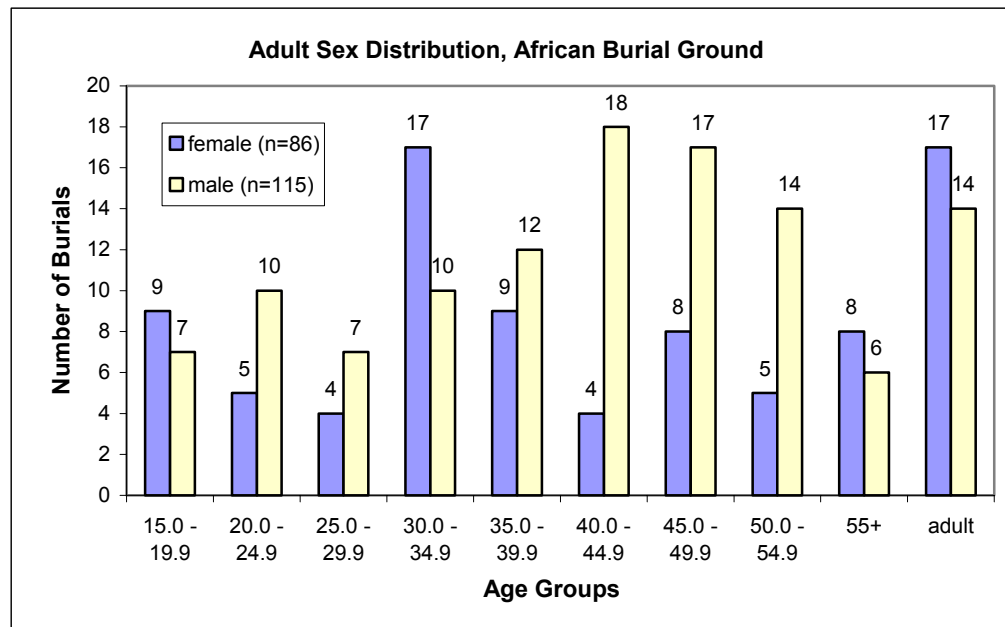
Adult Sex Distribution, African Burial Ground

Figure 5.2.
Adult sex distribution. The "adults" shown in bars at the right are for individuals identified as adults but for whom age could not be determined.

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The individuals interred in the excavated portion of the cemetery represent the entire life cycle (Figure 5.2). Preservation of infants' and children's remains was probably not as good as preservation of adult remains, but the under-15 cohort (n=157) nevertheless represented 39.25% of those for whom at least an *age category* (if not an *age range*) could be determined (n=400). Unlike the burial ground for enslaved workers at Newton Plantation in Barbados (Handler and Lange 1978:285-87), the young were interred along with the old in New York's African cemetery.

Of "adults" (i.e., those approximately 15 and over) for whom sex could be determined, there were more men than women (Figure 5.2). This demographic may have to do with the area within the historic cemetery that was archaeologically excavated – as will be discussed in Chapter 9, the northernmost portion of the burial ground may have been in use during the British occupation of the city at the time of the Revolution, and it is possible more men than women were buried in that period. Additional discussion of the sex ratio in relation to the mortuary population is in Chapter 13 of the Skeletal Biology Report (Blakey et al. 2004b).

5.B. Burial practices

Figure 5.3 illustrates several of the aspects of burial practice that we discuss. The infant in Burial 226 was interred in its own coffin, but within the grave of Burial 221, a man between the ages of thirty and sixty. The coffins were placed with the heads to the west. The infant wore a strand of fired-glass beads that were probably made in West Africa, and copper-alloy straight pins apparently fastened the winding cloth.
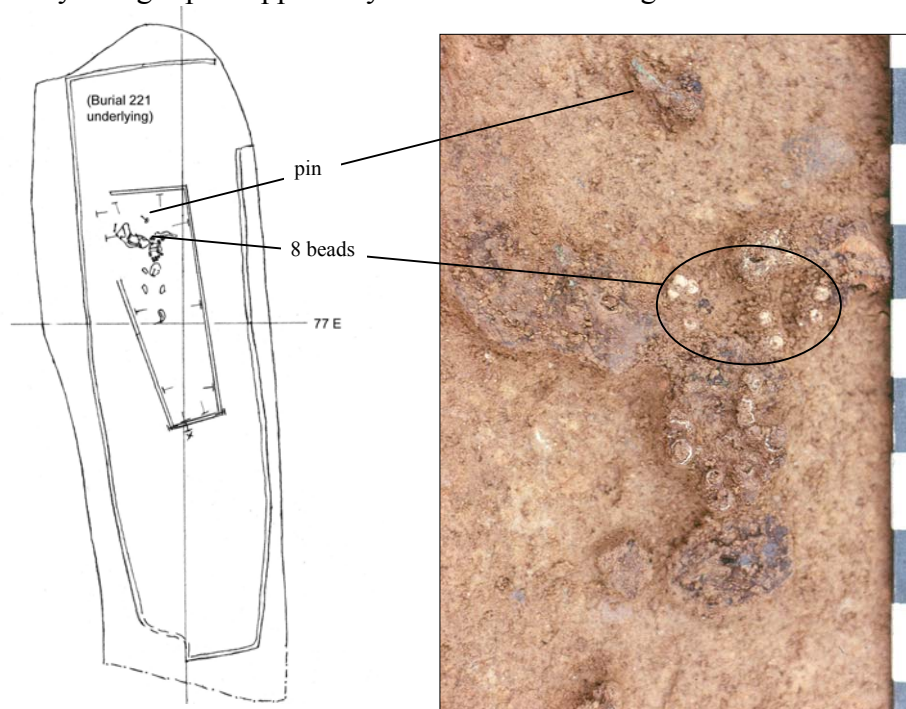

Figure 5.3.
In situ drawing of Burial 226 atop Burial 221 (left), and photograph (right), showing the scant remains of the infant with a pin and eight fired-glass beads that were worn at the neck. Drawing by M. Schur photograph by Dennis Seckler.

The use of individual coffins, the head-to-west orientation, and shrouding are all typical of burials within the excavated portion of the African Burial Ground. On the other hand, the shared grave and the adornment of the child with beads are unusual, for most of those interred here had separate graves and lacked personal possessions or adornment.

An extraordinary degree of homogeneity is found in four parameters of potential variability examined at the African Burial Ground. Coffin use, body orientation with head to west, and extended supine body position characterize the vast majority of interments. The preference for individual interment is also very evident, and even where graves were shared, separate coffins were normally provided. It is also very likely that shrouding was the norm -- though evidence of shroud fastenings in the form of pins was present in only half the graves, those without pins probably were wrapped. Variation emerges in evidence for clothing, personal adornments and other items recovered in direct association with skeletal remains, all of which were few and far between, and their stylistic and material range was limited. It is not possible to determine whether grave markers, which were preserved in very few cases, were typical. The spatial relationships among graves were variable, but not strikingly so, as though a limited syntax guided grave placement.

How do we explain the overall lack of variability at the African Burial Ground? Poverty can account for the limited presence of items placed with the deceased. The sumptuary aspects of funerary rituals and the disposition of the corpse, which might have signaled differing ritual programs and beliefs, were severely constrained. Other mortuary patterns are more surprising. Given the diverse geographical and ethnic origins of black New Yorkers during the 18th century, why do we not see more variation in a range of attributes?

The portion of the cemetery that was excavated may represent only a portion of the community. As we discussed in Chapter 3, we believe the excavations sampled only a small percentage of the graves in the historic cemetery as a whole. The excavated sample might represent only an ethnically or religiously distinct segment of the African population. Since the burials apparently span a long period of time, and since infusions of captive Africans both from the continent and via the Caribbean would have joined New York's black community periodically and sporadically during the 18th century, it seems unlikely that the sample includes only one distinct group. Still, this possibility should be kept in mind, despite the lack of clear material evidence, such as distinct burial positions or grave goods, or a cross or other religious insignia, to point to any specific ethnic or religious group. We also lack documentary evidence. Surviving church records, for example, do not provide an adequate profile of the Christian affiliations of New York's Africans, though to be sure the Dutch Church had black members from at least the 1640s, Elias Neau drew blacks to his school beginning in 1704, and Methodists and Moravians counted black members later in the century. Shipping records, which often cite only "Africa" or "Coast of Africa" as points of origin, are not specific enough to tell us the ethnic groups represented in the town's population (Medford 2004:90-92).

Another possibility is that the physical signature we are examining represents aspects of funerary ritual (i.e., digging of individual graves, coffin use, orientation) that were under the control of some sort of management, in which ethnically distinct types of graves were largely proscribed. There is no documentary evidence to suggest that the cemetery was ever regulated in this way. Gravediggers serving at the African Burial Ground, however, may have influenced the development of a general mortuary program.

Coffin burial

There can be little doubt that black New Yorkers considered coffins as a *sine qua non* of a proper burial. At the African Burial Ground there were 384 graves (some without extant human remains) where the presence or absence of a coffin could be definitively determined. Of these graves, 352 or *91.6% had coffins*.[1] Coffins were provided for all age categories (Table 5.1). The use of a coffin was the norm during *most* of the period represented archaeologically, in *most* of the cemetery, as seen on the site plan (see Figures 1.7 and 4.6). The wood used to make the coffins was generally inexpensive cedar, pine, or fir. Coffin hardware consisted almost exclusively of nails (see Chapter 10).

Table 5.1. Presence/Absence of coffins				
Coffin	**Subadult**	**Adult**	**Undeter-mined**	**Total**
Present	152	186	15	352
Absent	0	31	1	32

Considering the overwhelming frequency of coffins, it is worth exploring the possible circumstances in which coffin-less burials occurred. The adult burials without coffins may reflect the inability of the family of the deceased to afford a coffin or the refusal of an enslaved person's household head to provide it; or may be indicative of burial under some kind of special circumstance; or may represent a distinctive burial custom. The spatial distribution of burials without coffins is very skewed, as discussed in Chapter 4, with most occurring in the north part of the excavated cemetery, and this points to an explanation. We will further analyze the coffin-less burials, which appear to be from the latest period of the cemetery's use, in Chapter 9.

Head-to-west orientation

A burial orientation with the head to the west seems to have been one of the first mortuary practices to become standardized in the African Diaspora (Jamieson 1995:52). The African Burial Ground bears this out. Of 375 burials for which the orientation of the head can be determined (i.e., where enough of the skeletal remains were *in situ* -- in some

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[1] At Newton Plantation cemetery in Barbados, another large burial place for enslaved Africans which overlaps in time with the African Burial Ground, only 29 of the 92 excavated burials had coffins, a much lower frequency (31%). Disturbances to the Newton burials made determination of presence/absence difficult, however (Handler and Lange 1978:191, 231-250). Coffin use at Elmina appears to belong to the 19th century (DeCorse 2001:101).

cases, only a small part of the skeleton was preserved, but the position of the bones is sufficient to determine how the body lay), 367 or *97.8% were placed with the head to the west*. Figure 5.4 summarizes information about west-headed burials for which the angle of orientation could be measured in degrees west of "grid north."[2]
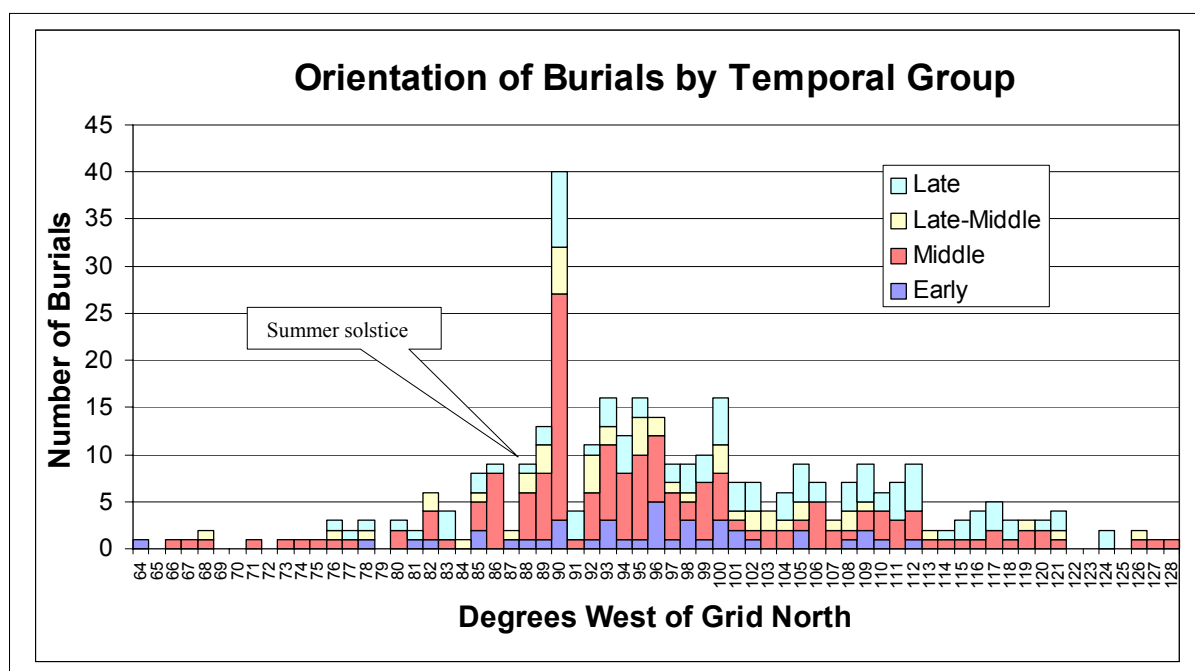

Figure 5.4.
Orientation of west-headed burials at the African Burial Ground.

Although the most frequent head orientation is at 90º west of grid north, head orientation of head-to-west burials ranged from 64º to 128º west of north. Fully two-thirds were angled at greater than 90º west of grid north, a skewing that can be seen on the site maps in Figures 1.7, 4.6, and in Chapters 6 through 9. This southward trend is most marked in the Late Group burials. Other orientations (not graphed) include head-to-east (n = 4), head-to-south (n = 3), and head-to-north (n = 1). These are discussed further here and in Chapters 6 through 9.

How was the orientation determined when a grave shaft was dug and the coffin (or coffin-less body) placed in it? Obviously cemetery users would have known which way was west, but the variability within the west-oriented graves is worth interrogating, especially since the African Burial Ground offers a unique opportunity to examine this

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[2] "Grid north" is based on the grid that was used for the field excavations, which in turn in based on the alignment of the buildings and streets surrounding the archaeological site. It is 30º east of magnetic north. Burials in which the head can be presumed to have been in a westerly direction, but which were too disturbed for exact measurement of the angle, are not included in this table. Comparative archaeological examples are less uniform than the African Burial Ground. The Newton cemetery had 58 burials where orientation could be determined, and of these 38 had the head to the west, or 65%.

kind of patterning. Three possibilities were considered: 1) use of the path of the sun, at sunset in particular; 2) use of landmarks or physical features in the vicinity to orient burials; 3) alignment with neighboring graves.

1) Alignment to the path of the sun

Orientation with reference to sunset would account for variability because the sun sets at different points on the horizon over the course of the year (Figure 5.5 and Table 5.2).[3]
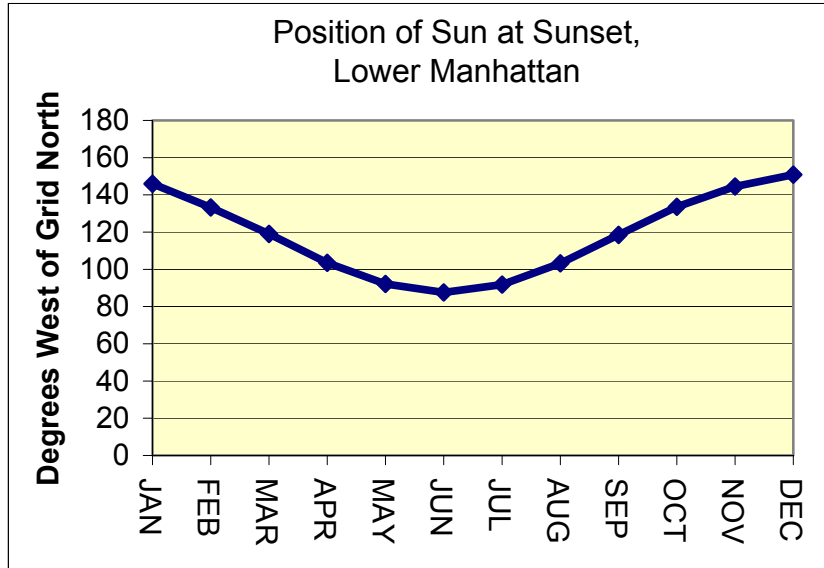

Figure 5.5. Position of the sun on the horizon at sunset in lower Manhattan over the course of a year, relative to the African Burial Ground site grid.

Table 5.2. Angle of sunset*	
Jan.	145.98
Feb.	133.27
Mar.	119.02
April	103.48
May	92.14
June	87.59
July	91.78
Aug.	103.26
Sept.	118.53
Oct.	133.58
Nov.	144.48
Dec.	150.9
*Degrees west of grid north, using the 21st of each month	

The 90º west-of-grid-north position, the most frequent orientation, corresponds to the position of sunset at either late May through mid-June or the first part of July. A total of 45.5% of burials are oriented to where the sun would have set from about mid-May to mid-August. The azimuth angle at the summer solstice is 87.59º west of our grid north (i.e., very close to our grid west). The burials oriented with the head further southward (33%) may correspond either to February through April or to August through October (no burials were oriented extremely southward, where sun set from approximately mid-November through early February). The rest of the measurable orientation angles fall northward of where sun set at the summer solstice.

The highest numbers of deaths among Europeans in colonial New York tended to occur during the "disease season" from

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[3] The source for this information is Gronbeck 2004. We used the 21st of each month to calculate sunset. The azimuth angles over the course of the year would not have changed noticeably over the past 300 years.

August to October. Eighteenth-century burial registers for New York's Reformed Dutch Church and Trinity (Anglican) Church have been tabulated by month as shown in Table 5.3. The peak death months overlap in both samples. The Dutch Church data are probably most reliable due to the large sample size.

Table 5.3. Deaths by month in Reformed Dutch and Trinity Church burial records				
Month	n	%	n	%
	Reformed Dutch		Trinity	
Jan	307	6.41	39	8.84
Feb	239	4.99	25	5.67
Mar	296	6.18	35	7.94
Apr	262	5.47	40	9.07
May	282	5.89	32	7.26
Jun	249	5.20	20	4.54
Jul	426	8.90	46	10.43
Aug	751	15.69	49	11.11
Sep	723	15.10	49	11.11
Oct	525	10.96	39	8.84
Nov	378	7.89	40	9.07
Dec	350	7.31	27	6.12
Total	4788	100.00	441	100.00

Klepp (1994:478) has shown, however, that in Philadelphia the pattern of seasonal mortality was quite different for Africans. There, while Europeans had higher death rates in summer and fall just as in New York (due to malarial and diarrheal diseases), for Africans it was late fall and winter that brought the highest mortality, probably due to respiratory ailments. It is possible that death rates for blacks in New York climbed in the winter as they did in Philadelphia.

The orientations at the African Burial Ground, however, suggest fewer burials in winter than in other months, and a high frequency of burials that, if sunset was in fact used as a guide, took place during the early summer. If burials were postponed during the winter, we would expect high frequencies in early spring when the ground first thawed, rather than early summer.

We suggest that if bodies were being oriented with reference to the sun, the actual path of the sun on the day of interment was not always, or even typically, used. The digging of the grave probably did not occur at the interment itself, but earlier in the day, so that where the sun set on the funeral evening would not have dictated the precise orientation. Instead, perhaps a convention based generally on sunset was used for westward orientation. The summer solstice is close to the peak in frequency (90°) seen at the African Burial Ground, and may have been a referent. Burials angled with the head well northward of the solstice (more than 5º off), numbering 22, seem anomalous, but may have been summer interments for which the path of the sun was estimated.

The season of death can also be addressed through pollen data that has been analyzed for a small set of burials, though these data are themselves quite problematic, as discussed in Appendix G. Table 5.4 lists possible season of interment for fourteen graves based on pollen and head orientation. There is broad general agreement in most cases, but for Burials 147, 151, 192, 210, and 415 the two possible lines of evidence appear to diverge.

Table 5.4. Comparison of potential seasonality data from pollen and burial orientation			
Burial	Possible season(s) of interment based on pollen analysis	Orientation (degrees west of grid north)	Possible season(s) of interment based on angle of sunset
6	June through August	91	May-July
45	June to September	86	June
115	June to September	94	May-early August
147	Fall	81	June
151	June to September	138	October-November or February-March
155	June through August	92	May
192	May through August or Fall	116	March-April
194	May to September	104	April or August
207	June through August	93	May
210	Fall	88	June
270	June to September	97	April-May or July-August
366	Summer or Fall	118	March or September
392	May through August or June to September	Head to east	
415	Fall	99	late April or early August

2) Alignment to physical features

Variability might be accounted for by use of different physical features for different interments. Such features may have included a fence, a street, the slope of a hill, the palisade, or even visible buildings such as the Almshouse, pottery factory, or dwellings. The spike in orientation at 90º west of our "grid north" at first may seem surprising, since the archaeological site grid can have had no meaning for those using the cemetery. But the site grid corresponds to the street grid, and one street, Broadway, had been laid out during the 18th century. Therefore, it is believed that at least some burials were aligned with reference to the physical landmark of Broadway. That is, in order to place burials on an east-west axis, they were placed perpendicular to Broadway, which was used as a convenient north-south axis. Broadway was laid out northward along the west side of the burial ground in 1723, and was shown on the Lyne – Bradford Plan surveyed in 1730, and on all subsequent maps (see Chapter 2 chronology entries for 1723 and 1730 and Figure 2.6). It is also possible that some of the 90º west-oriented burials, using a similar "short-hand" reckoning of the east-west axis, were aligned with later buildings in the immediate vicinity, which themselves would have been aligned with the street.

The burials with orientations similar to that of the patent boundary line may have been aligned with a fence or a road or path that paralleled it. The number of graves located to the north of the projected fence line that appear to share that boundary's general southwest-northeast alignment, especially noticeable in the area to the west of the 110 East grid line, is intriguing considering our hypothesis that these graves are post-fence.

Either the fence was in fact still in place when these graves were dug, or the burials were oriented to something else, either the sun (in which case the interments were in Spring or Autumn) or another feature. As noted in Chapter 4, the ditches visible at the westernmost end of the site in Lot 12 also shared a similar southwest-northeast alignment. It is possible they represent the remains of another boundary or roadway leading from Broadway along the south edge of the Calk Hook Farm, and that this was eyed when aligning graves west-to-east. Finally, as we also noted in Chapter 4, these graves may have been arranged in "rows" along the contours of the hillside, and their orientation may simply reflect the direction of the slope.

Burials in the southeast portion of the excavated cemetery also may have been oriented with reference to the town palisade, a prominent feature from 1754 to 1760. The palisade raked southwest to northeast just south of this portion of the ground (see Figure 2.10).

3) Alignment to neighboring graves

Many burials may have been aligned with reference to the nearest known or visible graves. This seems most likely in cases where burials were simultaneous or very close in time and/or were marked and were of individuals for whom some kind of close relationship was being acknowledged or expressed. Well-marked graves may have been visible for many years and thus could be used for orienting nearby burials. Pairs and groups of parallel graves are noted in Chapters 6 through 9.

If several burials, unrelated to each other or to existing clusters of graves, were being conducted at one time (perhaps in the space of one or two days) it is quite possible a gravedigger would have made the graves parallel and near to one another for convenience. This may have occurred at the spring thaw, if burials of those who died in the coldest part of winter had been postponed.[4] Likewise, deaths during an epidemic may have occasioned the preparation of several graves at once. Noël Hume (1982:36-37) has proposed this as an explanation for precisely parallel adjacent graves at Carter's Grove, reasoning that if graves were *not* simultaneous there is little likelihood gravediggers would be able to make them so perfectly aligned.

It should also be remembered that if particular individuals had responsibility for digging graves, change in this personnel could account for variation. The possibility of orienting burials to other features or to the sun would still apply, with the reference point selected by the gravedigger. If the sunset was used, variation in types of grave shaft should not correspond to variation in orientation. If a physical feature selected by the gravedigger was used, however, we might expect grave shaft "style" or shape to co-vary with orientation. Analysis of grave shafts by shape has not been attempted but is suggested for future research.

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[4] We thank Robert Paynter for suggesting this as a possible explanation for burials in apparent parallel alignments.

Supine extended body position

Of 269 burials at the African Burial Ground for which the position of the body could be definitively determined, *100% were supine*, i.e., the deceased had been laid on their backs. For 211 of these supine burials, the position of the arms and hands has also been determined (Table 5.5). When excavated, the hands were usually resting on the pelvis or upper legs of the deceased (44%). The next most common arm/hand position was at the sides (22.7%), though in some of these burials the person may have been placed with the hands resting on the pelvis, and they later fell to the sides. Arm positions in general were consistent with what would be expected for a wrapped/shrouded corpse (see below).

Table 5.5. Arm position	
Arm Position	**Number of Burials**
resting on pelvis	93
both at sides	48
r. at side, l. on pelvis	9
l. at side, r. on pelvis	8
both flexed at sides	7
crossed right over left	3
crossed left over right	6
l. flexed, r. at side	1
r. flexed, l. at side	1
right at side*	7
left at side*	4
right flexed*	3
left flexed*	4
left on pelvis*	2
over head	1
crossed over chest	1
other**	7
indeterminate	6
*other arm indeterminate **flexed and lying across the body in various positions	

Not surprisingly, leg position is much less variable. In nearly all cases, the legs were extended straight down from the hips. In two cases, the ankles were crossed, and in a few burials one or both legs were slightly bent at the knee. These individuals may have been laid in the coffin with bent legs. Alternatively, the shifting of the coffin during interment may have caused the bending.

Data on head position has been collected, but is not believed to be diagnostic, because given the supine position of the body the head would have rolled to one side or the other, back or forward, during interment or decomposition.

The supine extended body position is so uniform at the African Burial Ground as to constitute, along with coffin burial and orientation, part of an accepted mortuary program. This position was typical of European Christian burial, but supine extended burial was just one of a wide range of positions used in African societies from which captives were taken (Handler and Lange 1978:198, 318 n. 28). Other Diaspora examples, however, show a similar preference for the supine extended position.

Shrouding

Cloth was seldom recovered at the African Burial Ground, and fragments were preserved only when in association with metal artifacts. In the absence of cloth or any evidence for clothing, shrouding or clothes without durable fasteners may be inferred. Small copper alloy straight pins with wire-wound heads were observed in and/or recovered from 210 burials, representing approximately 65% of those burials that appeared to have adequate

preservation for pins to have survived (n=325).[5] This may be an under-representation of the total number of burials that originally contained pins, because where preservation was especially poor or the burial was disturbed, these fragile items may have been lost. Pins may have been used to fasten cloth in which the deceased was wrapped or partially wrapped, but it should be remembered that they might also represent clothing fasteners, especially for women. In most cases, young children and infants appear to have been more fully wrapped, while many adults had pins on the cranium only. Pins are present in all age groups, but they were observed in a higher percentage of children's graves than adults. Pins and shrouding are discussed further in Chapter 11.

Shrouding was documented at Elmina prior to the introduction of coffin burial in the 19th century (DeCorse 1992:183), but is not in evidence at the Newton Plantation cemetery in Barbados. Handler and Lange hypothesize that most enslaved Africans were buried clothed (1978:185), though shroud pins or winding cloth may not have survived to enter the archaeological record.

Individual interment, shared and clustered graves

The overarching mortuary program as performed at the cemetery called for individual interment. Shared graves are exceptional, though they appear in all temporal groups. By shared, we mean burial *in the same grave* (see Figure 5.3), rather than burial in close proximity. There were 26 shared or possible shared graves. In some of these cases, the individuals were apparently interred at the same time. In other cases there may have been an interval after which a second burial was placed in a grave shaft already in use. Family relationships can only be hypothesized at this point, though future DNA analysis may confirm consanguinity in some cases. A mother-child relationship can be assumed with some confidence in the cases of Burials 335 and 356, where the woman cradled the newborn in her arm and Burials 12 and 14, the infant had been placed on the woman's torso. In other cases we are reluctant to assume parent/child relationships, since other types of relatives may have been seen as appropriate to share the grave.

The shared or possibly shared graves are listed in Table 5.6. Most involve infants or children buried together (n=11) or with an adult (n=12 or 13). In many other cases, we believe individuals were placed deliberately in relation to each other though not in the same grave. Among these, one pattern is of infants and young children being placed above or immediately adjacent to the graves of adults (see site maps, Chapters 6 through 8, and Volumes 2 and 3). Examples of these grave clusters are Burials 29, 46 and 22; Burials 67 and 60; Burials 96/94 (a shared grave), 42, 61 and 64; Burials 101 and 108; Burials 280, 295, 215, 229, 239, and 246; and Burials 300, 306, and 283.

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[5] All burials were assessed for the likelihood of artifact preservation (see Chapter 3). The burials without pins from which the cranium was missing are not included in the total burial count here, since pins are most often found on the cranium. However, two burials without crania that did contain pins, Burials 67 and 81, are counted in the total. Six severely disturbed sets of remains had pins or pin staining: Burials 20, 131, 175, 189, 303, and 319; these are included in the total. However, two burials for which there was no way to assign pin fragments to an individual due to redeposition, Burials 398 and 403, are excluded from the count.

In a number of cases, an infant was found interred at the foot end of an adult's grave, overlapping and/or offset to one side, its coffin parallel. These burials, representing Early, Middle, and Late Middle temporal groups, include Burials 46 and 22; Burials 67 and 60; Burials 69 and 53; Burials 90, 79, and 8; Burials 101 and 108; Burials 159, 161 and 206; Burial 177 and 128; and Burials 250 and 249.[6] The adults in this type of burial included three men, two women, one probable woman, and two whose sex could not be determined; they were all approximately thirty years old or older.
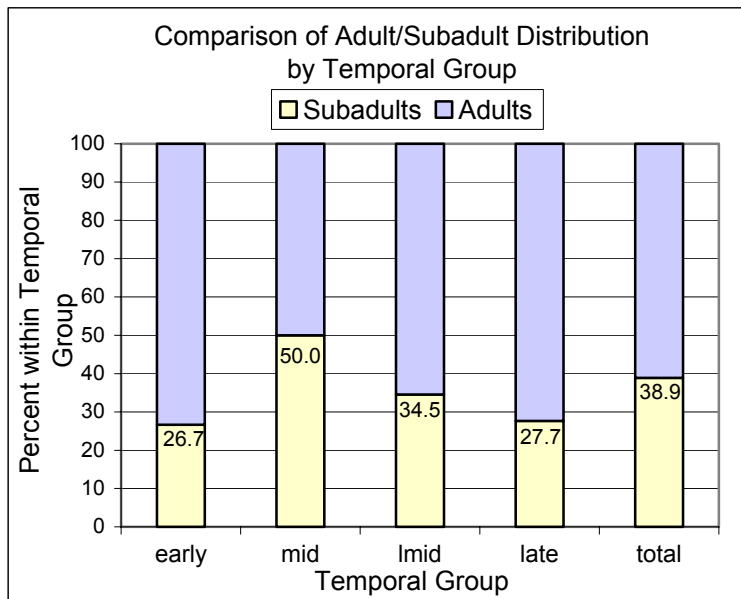
			adult/child	children	adults
Table 5.6. **Shared graves and possible shared graves at the African Burial Ground**					
Burials	**Map Location**	**Comments**			
Burials 12 and 14	S89.5/E12	Woman aged 35 to 45 with a newborn. The infant appeared to have been in its own coffin, but within the coffin of the woman. Late Group. Interred at the same time.	x		
Burials 25 and 32	S87/E20	Woman in early 20s stacked atop a man 50 to 60 years old, both in hexagonal coffins. Middle Group. The woman had suffered trauma, and had a musket ball lodged in her ribcage. Possibly interred at the same time.			x
Burials 72, 83, and 84	S87.5/E34	Possible shared grave. Two very young children placed above a young man 17 to 21 years old. Burials were disturbed by a later foundation. Early Group.	x	x	
Burials 79 and 90	S82/E5	Possible shared grave with an infant placed above the foot end of a burial of a woman in her late 30s. Soil intervened. Middle Group. The woman's coffin was hexagonal, the child's tapered. Not buried at the same time.	x		
Burials 89 and 107	S90/E48	Possible shared grave. A woman in her 50s placed above a woman in her late 30s, both in hexagonal coffins. The top coffin was offset to the south, but apparently in the same grave; possible interval between burials. The younger woman had a cylindrical red bead near her ear. Late-Middle Group.			x
Burials 94 and 96	S94/E47	An infant centered precisely above a young man 16 to 18 years old. Both in hexagonal coffins. Middle Group. Possible interval between interments. These burials were part of a cluster with additional child burials.	x		
Burials 121 and 202	S86/E70	A child 2 ½ to 4 ½ years old placed atop an adolescent (a probable female) 12 to 18 years old. Both were in tapered coffins. Early Group.		x	

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[6] These cases are all located in the western half of the site, though this distribution is not considered significant since the eastern half of the site was never fully excavated. Burials 177 and 128 are placed in the Early and Middle Groups respectively, but the child may still have been placed deliberately at the foot of the earlier adult grave.

		Table 5.6.			
		Shared graves and possible shared graves at the African Burial Ground			
Burials	**Map Location**	**Comments**	**adult/child**	**children**	**adults**
Burials 126 and 143	S88.5/E80.5	Two children, one 3 ½ to 5 ½ and one 6 to 10 years old, shared a single coffin, with the younger child placed atop the elder. The coffin was hexagonal and deep in construction. Middle Group.		x	
Burials 142, 144, and 149	S88/E90	A woman of 25 to 30 years with an infant/newborn and a child of 6 to 12 months placed directly atop her coffin. The woman's coffin was hexagonal and the two babies' four-sided. Middle Group.	x	x	
Burials 146 and 145	S73.5/E74	An infant under six months old in a coffin, placed atop an empty adult coffin. Located along south side of post-hole alignment. Late-Middle Group.	x?		
Burials 159 and 161	S73.5/E90	An infant or young child placed adjacent to the coffin (near the foot end) of a woman 25 to 35 years old. The grave may also be shared with Burial 206, another infant or child grave adjacent on the opposite side. All in coffins, the woman's hexagonal, the children's rectangular. Middle Group.	x		
Burials 225 and 252	S64.5/E95	An infant between 6 and 15 months old placed above a child of 1 to 2 years. Both in four-sided coffins. The upper coffin was offset slightly to the north. Late Group.		x	
Burials 226 and 221	S83.5/E77	An infant of 2 months or less placed atop a man of 30 to 60 years, both in tapered coffins. The infant had a string of fired-glass beads at the neck. Early Group.	x		
Burials 255 and 265	S82/E120	Two infants, one less than 2 months old and one 6 to 12 months old, in coffins placed one atop the other in a shared grave. Poor skeletal preservation. Middle Group.		x	
Burials 263 and 272	S88.5/E74	Infant burials placed one atop the other in the same grave. Both were in four-sided coffins. Probable Early Group based on stratigraphy.		x	
Burials 268 and 286	S75/126E	Infant of 6 months or less, placed above a child between 4 and 8 years old. Both in coffins, probably hexagonal. Middle Group.		x	
Burials 219 and 235	S71.5/E123	Possible shared grave. A child 4 to 5 years old placed above a woman of 28 to 42, apparently in the same grave shaft but with an interval of time between interments. Both in coffins. Late-Middle Group. Severe disturbance to the grave from construction.	x		
Burials 293 and 291		An adult man (age undetermined) and child 3 to 5 years old may have shared a grave. The burials were disturbed by a later grave, and some skeletal remains of the adult and those of the child were displaced into the later grave shaft.	x		
Burials 311 and 316	S88.5/E99	An infant 3 to 9 months old placed in the corner of the grave of a woman 18 to 20 years old. The woman's coffin was hexagonal, the infant's tapered. Late-Middle Group. *Not* buried at the same time.	x		
Burials 314 and 338	S82/E134	Possible shared grave, with a man of 40 to 50 years and a woman 33 to 65, side-by-side, both in hexagonal coffins. Late-Middle Group.			x

Table 5.6.
Shared graves and possible shared graves at the African Burial Ground

Burials	Map Location	Comments	adult/child	children	adults
Burials 318 and 321	S79.5/E144	Possible shared grave. Bones of a child 7 to 14 years old, apparently in place, within the upper part of the grave of a child 1 to 2 years old. Possibly isolated from other burials.		x	
Burials 320 and 334	S89/E251	Possible shared grave. Child of 2 to 4 years and another young child, in immediately adjacent, aligned coffins. Middle Group. Disturbed by construction.		x	
Burials 326 and 374	S75.5/E135	An infant of 3 months or less was placed adjacent to left side of a man of 45 to 55 years, near the head, in the same grave shaft. They appear to have been buried at the same time. Middle Group. Both in coffins.	x		
Burials 335 and 356	S84.5/E248	A woman 25 to 35 years old and a newborn, buried together in a hexagonal coffin. Infant lay within the woman's flexed right arm. Middle Group.	x		
Burials 341 and 397	S87.5/E229	A man of undetermined age and a woman 30 to 40 years old. The man's coffin had been placed atop the woman's, in a shared grave. Middle Group. Cuff links were found with the man; the woman's teeth were modified by distal chipping.			x
Burials 393 and 405	S84/E211	An infant or newborn placed with a child 6 to 10 years old. Both in narrow coffins of undetermined shape. Middle Group. *Not* buried at the same time.		x	

There is an "excess" of children in the main Middle Group, but there is no reason to believe that child mortality was greater in the middle of the time period represented at the site than in other periods. We believe more children appear in the middle grouping because children's burials from the later periods of the cemetery were placed in, above, or near existing graves from earlier periods, but these children's burials cannot be otherwise distinguished as later. The early group's low frequency of child burials is probably due to reduced preservation. Thus, the subadult age profiles broken down by period (Chapters 6 through 9) must be considered provisional.

Figure 5.6. Adult/subadult distribution by temporal group.

Another type of cluster includes several child burials in close proximity to each other, such as Burials 98, 100, 102 and 103; and Burials 224/231/234 (a shared grave), 232, 254 and 240. The latter type of spatial grouping may reflect the setting aside of specific locations for child burials at particular times during the cemetery's history, or deaths of numerous children in short spaces of time, such as in an epidemic.

There were no mass graves, where a number of individuals were stacked in a single large opening at one time. Such would have been expected only in the case of epidemics, war, or mass executions. Though *all* of these events occurred during the period the cemetery was in use (see Chapters 6 through 9), there is no evidence of mass interments within the area excavated. Such graves may exist elsewhere within the cemetery, but the evidence in the excavated burial ground clearly shows that New Yorkers living under slavery called attention to the uniqueness of each individual when they buried the dead.

Only in the northern cemetery area were *most* burials spatially separate from others. We think this lower density of graves reflects a shorter period of use, as discussed in Chapter 4. But it may also represent a response to demographic shifts during the Revolutionary War and its aftermath. Fewer co-interments (shared graves and deliberately proximal graves) and a rise in graves spaced in rows may have been a gravedigger's respectful solution to two kinds of predicaments: a spate of burials on a single day or in a short span of time; an increase in burials of recent arrivals without relatives or friends in the cemetery. The special circumstances of Late Group of burials are explored in Chapter 9.

Individual burial, then, did not mean isolated burial. Though actual shared graves are relatively uncommon, most burials overlap or are within a foot or two of others. Although we do not know whether the management of the African Burial Ground was centralized or dispersed, as explained in Chapter 2.D, there is no reason to suppose that it was not African-controlled. In this scenario, we should expect burial grouping. In order to conduct a systematic spatial analysis, one needs to devise a spatial syntax that can help organize the material; the key tactic is the search for patterns. Burials occurred in chronological sequences, and were more or less isolated or arranged in larger concentrations, into clusters, and finally into more or less discrete groups, sets, or pairs.

There was a range of opinion among the researchers regarding our ability to define burial groups and sub-sets, but because it is unlikely that people buried their family and neighbors in a geographically random way, we consider the existence of groupings almost certain. We have tried to recognize them archaeologically or at least to present the site data in a manner open to interpretation by others. Spatial analysis is one way to let the burial ground, as we encounter it archaeologically, "speak" to us of its use and of the historic community. To the extent that viewers (whether archaeologists or others who encounter the site records) perceive spatial relationships among interments, ideas can be generated about how the ritual space was constructed over time, and about social relationships among the deceased. We raise additional possibilities about the internal geography of the excavated cemetery in section 5.C.

Clothing, personal adornment, and other items

Distinguishing between "grave goods" and items of clothing/personal adornment that can be categorized as dressing the dead is problematic. The dressing of the deceased can be seen as one aspect of their preparation for their new state of being, and therefore in a sense the distinction is moot. Items that cannot be categorized as clothing or adornment but are likely goods meant to guide, equip or accompany the deceased in the world of the dead, such as tools, items for personal use, or talismans, might include a knife, a smoking pipe, a piece of coral or shell, or an item held in the hand or placed around the neck.

Items other than pins found in direct association with the skeletal remains included buttons, beads, rings, cuff links and other miscellaneous jewelry, and remnants of cloth, shell, smoking pipes, knives, metal, coins, and possibly floral tributes. Any of these items may have been the personal property of the deceased, and any of them may have had symbolic or spiritual significance. Clothing, adornment, and other miscellaneous items placed with the dead are described in Chapters 12, 13, and 14. Clothing fasteners were reliably associated with 34 burials, other adornment items with just 13. Other kinds of objects (not considered clothing or jewelry) were found with equally small numbers of burials. It is certain that some items placed with burials were not preserved, particularly those of cloth, wood, or plant materials.

Thus it appears that street clothes or adornment and/or the placement of grave goods in the grave was *not* considered a necessary component of the mortuary "program" as typically enacted at the African Burial Ground. We hasten to point out, however, that dressing the dead or including items in the grave certainly may have been an integral part of death ritual performed for particular individuals.

Grave markers

In the part of the African Burial Ground where the old ground surface was recorded, at least some of the graves were marked with stones. In addition, one coffin (in Burial 194) had a vertical post attached to its headboard, presumably meant to extend above the ground surface to mark the grave. The presence of marked graves suggests that the cemetery was visited, perhaps for the performance of "second funerals" or periodic post-interment rituals, and that subsequent graves could have been sited with reference to the marked ones.

The stone grave markers were of two types, rectangular slabs placed vertically near the head of the grave, and rows of small cobbles arranged so as to outline a grave or possibly a group of graves. The preservation of the markers indicates that these graves were covered over with fill while their surfaces were still intact.

Since markers were found in the one area where their preservation was possible, we think it is likely such markers were also used elsewhere at the cemetery. Archaeologists who were present during the mechanical clearing of the site did not observe grave markers,

and it is possible they had been removed during the early phases of development and filling of the property.

Figure 5.7.
Burials at the southwest corner of the excavated cemetery that were marked with cobbles at the surface. This style of grave marking has been observed throughout the African Diaspora over a broad temporal span (Thompson 1983:137; Vlach 1978:139-45).
Photograph by Dennis Seckler.

Figure 5.8.
Excavated grave of Burial 18 with stone marker in place at its west (head) end. Arrows point to the coffin outlines of Burial 7, cutting into the north profile, and Burial 11, at the lower left. Both of these graves lay above the coffin in Burial 18.
Photograph by Dennis Seckler.

Figure 5.9.
Vertical slab of stone found above Burial 47 and the line of cobbles along the north side of the grave. The stone and cobbles were designated "Features 1 and 2" during the excavation. Photography by Dennis Seckler.
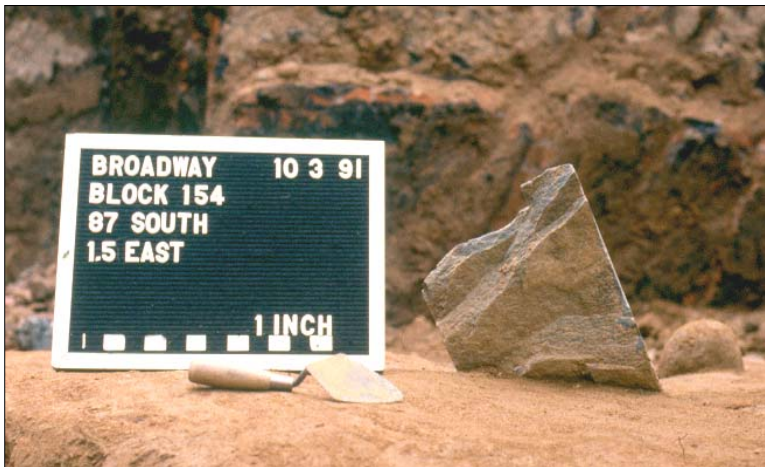
Figure 5.10.
Stone that appears to have been a marker for Burial 23. North is to right. At the time the photograph was taken, Burial 23 had not been defined, and the stone had been removed when the grave was excavated and recorded. Photograph by Dennis Seckler.

Figure 5.11.
View of larger excavation area with the same stone shown in Figure 5.10, in relation to nearby lines of cobbles. Photograph by Dennis Seckler.

## 5.C.   *Additional observations on internal geography*

Graves were not distributed uniformly across the archaeologically excavated burial ground. From a bird's eye view of the site (represented by the site maps in Figures 1.7 and 4.2), at least three spatial patterns or features are visible: areas of relatively dense and relatively sparse graves; possible rows of graves; and, in the less-densely used areas, grave spacing.

As discussed in Chapter 4, graves in the portion of the cemetery to the north of the alignment of postholes were relatively sparse compared to the area to the south. This is probably attributable to a shorter period of use. But within the area south of the former fence line, there are also areas that were more densely packed with graves than others. In Chapter 3 we hypothesized that the original topography may account for this, with the flatter areas used more than the slopes (see Figure 3.17). It is also possible, however, that the densest areas of the excavated cemetery had a sociological basis, with social, ethnic or religious groups using particular corners of the burial ground repeatedly to bury their

own. The early coffin type (tapering) clusters in two of the denser areas of the cemetery (see Chapter 6), and it is possible the re-use of particular "plots" over longer periods of time than others resulted in the concentrations we now see.

There are a number of possible "rows" of graves aligned roughly north-south across the excavated site, which may correspond to contours in the original hillside. These are easiest to discern beginning in the northern part of the site, such as between 80E and

Figure 5.12.
Detail of the site plan (Figure 1.7). Row-like alignments of graves spanned the site from south to north. These may reflect the contours of the hillside.
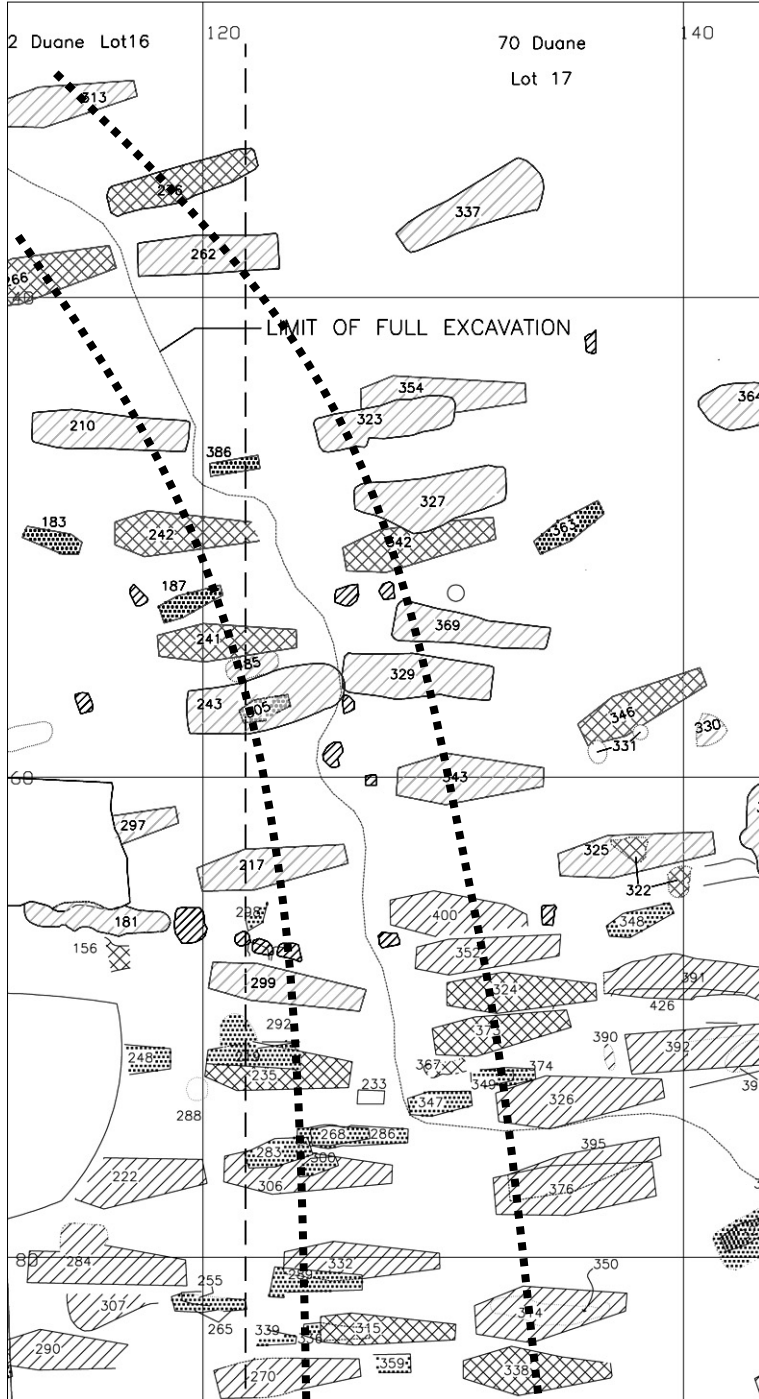
140E. It is possible some of these rows extend all the way to the southern edge of the site. In this case, it is possible that rows of graves were in place prior to the use of the area north of the fence line, and were extended northward after the fence was demolished. Chapter 9, on the Late Group of burials, takes up the question of rows and grave siting.

In places where there were adjacent graves with few or no superimposed burials, such as in the rows, a kind of spatial syntax is hinted at, with burials spaced deliberately apart. This will be taken up further in Chapter 7.

Was there any patterning of graves by age or sex? There are a few places where numerous children's and infant's graves seem to cluster, usually with one or more adult graves included. One cluster is beneath Burial 207, mentioned in Chapter 4 and discussed further in Chapter 6; others are discussed in Chapter 7. Sex distribution is skewed, with a preponderance of men in the northern part of the cemetery (see Chapter 9). Otherwise, men, women, and children are distributed more-or-less evenly across the entire excavated site, relative to overall density.

Distinctive women's graves in the southeastern area of the site

There is one area, in the far eastern part of the excavated site, where distinctive women's burials were found.
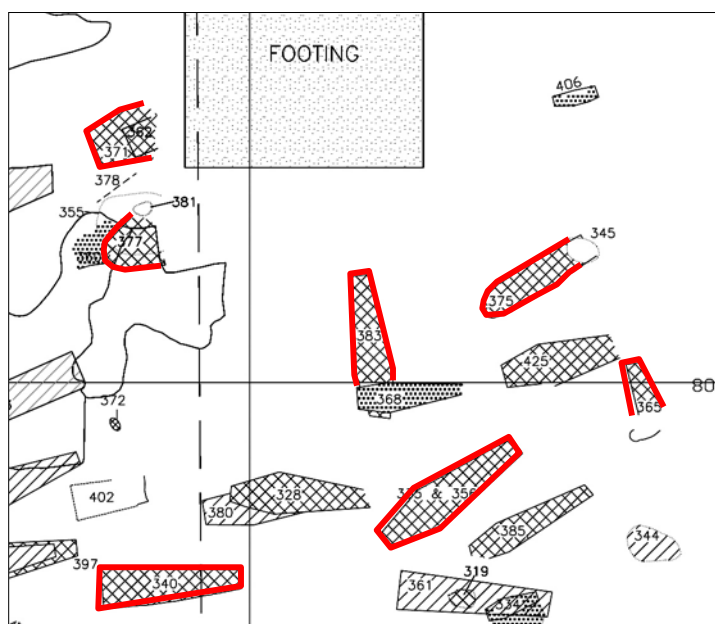

Figure 5.13.
Detail from site plan (Figure 1.7) showing locations of distinctive women's graves in the southeast corner of the excavated site.

Middle Group Burials 383 and 365 were highly unusual in that they were oriented with their heads to the south rather than the west. The two burials were ten feet apart. No age could be calculated for the woman in Burial 365; the young woman in Burial 383 was determined to be between fourteen and eighteen. Burial 365 was truncated, with only the legs, feet and portion of the left hand remaining, though these elements were articulated.

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It is unlikely that the entire burial had been displaced into a north-south orientation, since a grave shaft outline was recorded and the extant portion of the coffin appeared intact. Upon the lid of the coffin an oyster shell and an artifact made from shell and metal were found (see Chapter 14).

Burials 371, 375, and 377 were of women with no coffins and unique personal effects. Although the Middle Group grave of Burial 371 (Figure 5.14) had been partially destroyed by construction of a massive concrete footing in February 1992, the surviving portion (the upper body) was relatively intact. The grave, which held a woman between twenty-five and thirty-five years old, had a remarkably straight-sided shaft, which tapered toward the head end. The grave was considerably deeper than others excavated in this area, and another grave had been dug into it, well above the woman's remains. Two turquoise enamel cuff link faces, each decorated with a squat, white-and-pink V and two dots, were found beneath the woman's left upper arm. Given their location, and the lack of a connecting shank or link between them, it is unlikely that they fastened a shirtsleeve. These items were unique within the assemblage from the cemetery; how they were worn or used is not known (see Chapter 13).
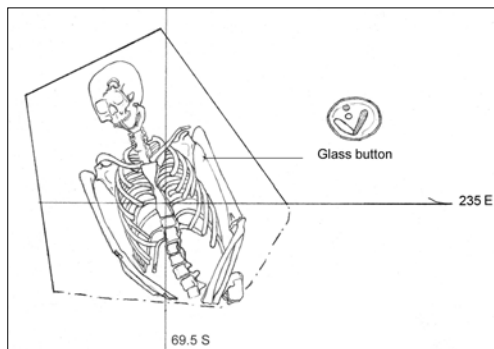

Figure 5.14.
In situ drawing, Burial 371. Remains are shown here at a scale of 1 inch = 2 feet. The button or cufflink faces were 14mm x 11mm. Drawing by W. Williams.

The only other coffin-less grave assigned to the Middle Group was Burial 375, also of a woman. The sixteen-to-eighteen-year-old woman in this grave had been buried with her arms crossed above her head, a unique position at the African Burial Ground (Figure 5.15). The east end of the grave had been disturbed by construction activity (though the feet appear missing in the photographs and drawings, foot bones were present when archaeologists exposed the burial).

The idiosyncratic arm position suggests that no winding sheet wrapped the arms at the time the woman was placed in the grave – bearers may have carried the corpse by the arms and legs. A ceramic ball with a copper alloy band encircling it, surrounded by an organic stain, possibly representing cloth or leather, was found at the right hip, adjacent to the right femur head (Figure 5.16). The object is described in full in Chapter 14.

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Figure 5.15. (left).
In situ photograph of Burial 375,
with arms crossed above head.
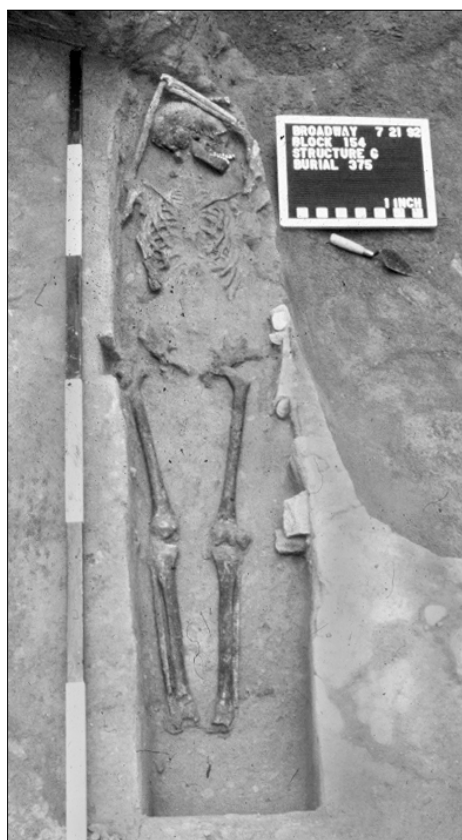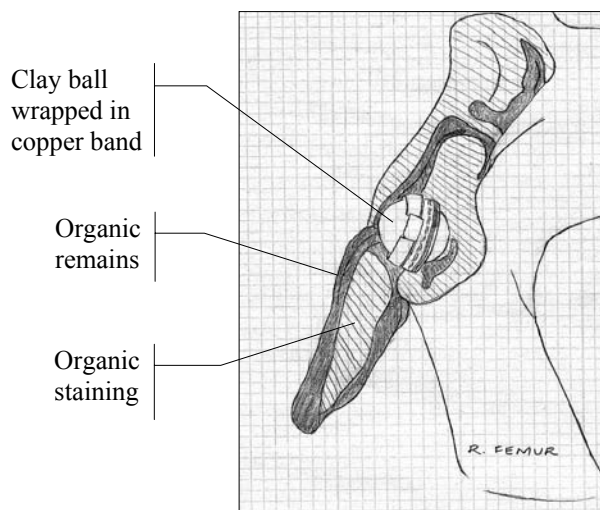Photograph by Dennis Seckler.

Figure 5.16. (below).
In situ drawing of artifacts at the hip of the
woman in Burial 375. Drawing by M. Schur.

Clay ball wrapped in copper band

Organic remains

Organic staining

R. FEMUR

Burial 377, assigned to the Late-Middle Group, held the remains of a woman thirty-three to fifty-eight years old who had three rings at her throat, possibly with a bit of associated thread (these items were never received in the laboratory but were documented in the field – see Chapter 13). This woman also had been buried without a coffin though possible wood staining was noted above and below the skeletal remains. Excavators suggested that boards might have been placed above and below the body, though the residue could have been from the coffin of a prior burial that was disturbed by Burial 377. A substance excavators believed to be red ocher was observed on the possible wood remains, and on the head, ribs, and scapulae.[7]

The presence of three burials of women in coffin-less graves close to one another and with distinctive personal effects is noteworthy. Most burials without coffins are of men, and are in the Late Group, mainly in the northern part of the excavated site. The graves may be incorrectly assigned to the Middle temporal groups, belonging instead with the majority of other coffin-less burials in our Late Group, though the stratigraphic position of Burial 371 argues against this.

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[7] Red ochre (a pigment made from iron oxide) was used by Native Americans from the early Archaic (the Lamoka period in New York, circa 4500 years ago), was a component of elaborate burial sites of the Orient peoples (circa 3000 years ago) on Long Island, and continued to be used into late prehistoric and historic times. Recent scholarship has explored the possible symbolic significance of the color red among Native Americans. See Cantwell and Wall 2001:69-70; Ritchie 1965.

The final distinctive woman's grave in this area of the site, Burial 340, had a coffin, was oriented with the head to the west, and lay in the typical position, supine and extended with the arms at the sides. Burial 340 was nevertheless unique, and is one of the most extensively described interments at the African Burial Ground. It held a woman between thirty-nine and sixty-four years who had been buried wearing a strand of beads and cowrie shells at her hips and a bracelet of beads on the right wrist (Figure 5.17), as well as an unused smoking pipe. The coffin was four-sided and tapered toward the foot, and though located near the pottery midden the grave pre-dated that feature and is placed in the Early Group.

Most of the beads were found in a line that circled once around the woman's hips, though most of the beads were recovered from the sides. A total of 112 glass beads were ultimately recovered, along with one amber bead and seven cowries (nine cowries were recorded in the field, but one of the cowries was later found to be a fragment of bone). Another cowrie was not recoverable and may have been an impression of a shell in the soil (LaRoche 1994a:19). The waist beads varied in color. With the exception of two specimens with adventitious decoration, the beads were simple, drawn types (see Chapter 13 for descriptions).

Figure 5.17.
In situ photograph of the pelvic area of Burial 340 during excavation, showing beads. The top arrow points to one of the cowries, the bottom arrow to the strand of alternating blue-green and yellow beads at the right wrist. See Chapter 13 for a drawing and additional photographs of the individual beads recovered. North is to right. The ruler is measured in inches. Photograph by Dennis Seckler.

Excavators originally believed that some of the beads (a line of tiny, alternating blue-green and pale yellow beads) were worn on the woman's right wrist, but later decided that all beads were probably from the strand at her waist because no hand or wrist bones underlay the *in situ* beads. Yet the interpretation of the distinct strand of alternating blue-green and yellow beads as a bracelet is compatible with its location beneath extant hand/wrist bones, and seems much more plausible than their interpretation as part of the waist beads. There were 15 of the yellow beads and 26 of the blue-green beads recovered, 15 of which were found aligned and in an alternating pattern (the others were scattered in the general pelvic area).

Eleven straight pins were found in place, most on the cranium, suggesting the woman had been shrouded. A kaolin pipe bowl and joining stem were recovered from beneath the woman's pelvis (this item is described in Chapter 14). The pipe had not been smoked. The skeletal remains from Burial 340 were poorly preserved, which accounts for the wide range of the woman's estimated age. Her incisors had been altered to hourglass and "peg" shapes.

One other woman's grave in the same small area should be mentioned here: Middle Group Burial 335 belonged to a woman between twenty-five and thirty-five years old with an infant (Burial 356) held in the crook of her arm. This is the only burial in the excavated sample where an infant was so placed (in Burials 12 and 14, another woman-with-infant, the infant was in its own coffin).

We consider it possible that the proximity of these distinctive women's graves to one another was deliberate, which in turn raises the possibility that a special area of the cemetery existed for women who shared one or more kinds of social distinction. There is no way to know whether any such distinction was negative or positive, or whether it was formalized in the management of the cemetery or tacitly agreed upon by the women's mourners or the community.

5.D.   Conclusion

It is likely that one of the most important things enslaved people did on their "own" time was participate in wakes, funerals, and grave-site gatherings. Funeral labor involved preparation and transport of the body, digging the grave, participation in funerary rituals, closing and marking the grave, and whatever subsequent actions were necessary to maintain proper relations with the dead and among living relatives. In all of this, Africans acted for themselves and each other, stealing their own labor from those who purported to own it. Labor also extended to the work needed to obtain the necessary accoutrements of proper burial. The coffin was a key component. Even when household heads or the almshouse wardens supplied them (see Chapter 10), such a custom can be viewed as the result of struggles over the terms of bondage rather than as a paternalistic gesture. Typical accoutrements appear to have also included, at a minimum, the shroud or cloth with which to wrap the body or the limbs and chin, with or without pins (see Chapter 11).

Other material goods found with the deceased also can shed light on how Africans acted on their own account. When a person was buried wearing jewelry or clothing, or with other objects that were theirs in life, a claim was made about the inalienability of their possessions. Those possessions were likely obtained through own-account activities. Africans in colonial New York, including those who were enslaved, created opportunities to earn money of their own to purchase small luxuries. Goods within easy reach may have been vended on the sly, or fenced at well-known taverns, the proceeds spent on personal items—or personal items may themselves have been stolen goods.[8] The burial of possessions took them out of circulation and fixed them to the deceased, symbolically defying a system that denied property to, and defined as property, an entire people.

The richness of the non-material aspects of African funerals (rituals that do not enter the documentary or archaeological record) is lost to us. But based on the material record, it is reasonable to propose that an insistence upon the full humanity of the deceased might well have been at the spiritual and political heart of burial at this cemetery. Most individuals were buried without any personal goods, some even without a coffin, yet the digging of an individual grave for each of the deceased, care in the orientation of the grave, and the placement of each body in a specific position (supine and extended) and probably wrapped, bespeaks a degree of attention and respect accorded to all.

The acts of interment that we are able to witness at a historical distance speak most importantly of the individual's relationship to others—to family but also to a larger community. The "conformity" that the record implies should be seen in this context. We think the cemetery provided a way for a community to form, through communal performance of a fundamental rite of passage. If via the archaeological record we are seeing mainly the shared aspects of mortuary behavior, then we have a remarkable window on a critical historical process. It is possible the common burial practices that are so evident within the excavated site took root during the beginning years of the burial ground, perhaps even earlier, when New Amsterdam's first Africans were interred in the West India Company's common cemetery. Since the African Burial Ground subsequently would have been one of the few sites where black men, women and children could act communally and on each other's behalf, it would have been a key place and institution for the continual incorporation of diverse newcomers into the fold.

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[8] Laws passed to stifle the enterprise of bondsmen and bondswomen provide a glimpse of some of the revenue-generating projects Africans undertook after work or on their masters' time. Africans were banned from selling independently grown crops and livestock, gathered fruits, home-made commodities and crafts such as soap, and oysters gathered from beds in New York waters. Colonial Manhattan's unfree African workforce encompassed the skilled as well as the unskilled. Africans labored in city homes and on nearby farms but also in the warehouses, workshops, and markets that provisioned a bustling port. African blacksmiths, coopers, cord-makers, brewers, butchers, and tailors may have profited from their skills, as suggested by legislation forbidding Africans to hire out as day laborers without their masters' consent. On own-account economic activities of New York's Africans see the History Report (Medford 2004:119-121; Linebaugh and Rediker 2000:181-82. Some of the restrictive legislation that gives us a glimpse of economic activities includes colony-wide laws (New York Colony 1691-1775(1):157, 761-767, 845; (2):679-688; and city ordinances (MCC 1675-1776(1):232 and (4):497-98). The variety of occupations of Africans is learned from sale and escapee advertisements and from the censuses of 1703 and 1790.